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get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us."

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

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"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor.

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan.

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship.

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888 We had had occasion to observe a not dissimilar manner of interchange between a young girl and an elderly woman in one village after another.

In one such village, a girl, who did not yet have her breasts, answered an old woman's reprimand with, "No, kambo, I will go down to the river later."

Kambo! She who makes trouble for me. . . .

The old woman said nothing.

603 888 The most striking instance, however, occurred in the village of the Granman. Moana Yankuso was held in no little fear everywhere on the river. It was not his rank alone as headman of all the clans, however, that had won him the reputation of a man to be obeyed. He was a powerful man, a great politician, and in every sense a personality, a man who knew how to dominate men and situations. One day in his council house, while he was surrounded by his chiefs, who sat on the low stools, their heads averted from him as is the way when men are in the presence of the great, the plaid strip of cloth which covered the door was brushed aside, and a young man entered. He took up a stool, brought it close to the Granman, and sat down. But he did not avert his face nor did he wait to be addressed.

"Howdo, mati," said he to the Granman, "I hear you want to see me."

We waited for the swift and terrible rebuke which the chief could give. None came.

"I sent for you," began the Granman, "because the Bak'a is leaving us. I am sending the captain of the village to take charge of the boat the white man and his woman will travel in. You will take the front paddle of the boat. You will see to it that his journey is pleasant. You must take care in going through the rapids. . . ."

"Mati," interrupted the young man, and his manner did not disguise his impatience with the injunctions of the Granman. "Mati, I am a man. I know how to run a boat. Why do you tell me all this?"

Instead of finding fault with the forward youth, the Granman turned to us and said, "You will be safe with

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him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death.

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all.

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained.

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

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603 were told that kambo was an abbreviated form of kambosa, and meant the woman who makes trouble.

[500] "He is my grandson, he calls me wife, and I call him husband. We joke together about everything."

Up and down the river we heard these expressions from the old men and women with whom we talked, and to them these were all-sufficient explanations of the relationship of grandparent and grandchild. This making free was a verbal give-and-take that did not stop at brusqueness or teasing. Indeed, those who indulged in this freedom might discuss with each other any phase of the sexual life. Nor did they need to resort to any evasion or circumlocution. There seemed, moreover, to be a sanction for emphasis on the obscene and the lascivious in these conversations—obscene and lascivious, that is, from the point of view of those who were themselves speaking!

603 182 The effect of the custom is interesting. It acts as a form of release for the young, who are held down under the strain of paying respect to those who are older and of greater experience. It is a way of escape from the discipline imposed by the parents and those of their generation.

What did the Bush Negro make of it?

We talked about it with men and women of many villages, and invariably the answer was the same.

"So we live in the bush, white man, and so we do. Our ancestors did this before us. Long ago our great ancestors brought all this knowledge with them from *Neng'e Kond'e* —from the land of the Negroes."

Yet in the beliefs of these people, and in their life as they live it, there are to be found a few suggestive hints which seem to have some bearing on this custom of verbal license between grandparents and grandchildren.

603 [551] The Bush Negro child is given many names at birth, and one name is usually that of a departed ancestor, a deceased grandparent. It may be, then, that this puts the child on a plane of spiritual equality with his grandparents and with those of their generation who are related to him. There is, also, the feeling about the propriety of the mar-

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riage of persons whose ages differ greatly. It may be that the grandparental generation is considered safe against infractions of this element in the code of proper behavior, and that the reticence about matters of sex, which is insisted upon between a child and those of the generation of his parents, has been proved to be unnecessary in the case of those so much older than the young person. Yet these, in the very nature of the case, are speculations. Whatever the reasons may be, the Bush Negro does not trouble himself about them.

"But my grandfather is my mati! With him I make sport!"

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [545] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs. [465]

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] [778] [782] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

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429 604 It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship, which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship delegated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

429 593 604 [858] Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged with his education and will become his guardian. The thought of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated if he is isolated and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

429 593 604 603 In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grandmother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The child's classificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandmothers have a preponderant influence in this decision as they do in all that concerns the child during his early years. The uncles' influence increases as the child advances in age.

429 There is no precise rule for the devolution of this guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

[604] The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

429 593 It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the cooperation of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

/127 cont./

429 593 [586] are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 603 [604] [593] Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grandmother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 603 886 [163] [165] Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren. The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 593 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education, he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.